

## 50 THE TURKS OF CENTRAL ASIA

000 clans is called *aga-manap*. A comparison of the social structure of the Kara-Kirghis with that of the Kaizak shows that the former is of a type more suited to the needs of a sedentary people, and the latter to those of nomads.

101 The comparative isolation of the Kirghis from any but Turkic tribes gives some assurance that their customs have more right than those of many other tribes to be taken as typically Turkic. A picture of their marriage ceremony may be of interest in this connexion.

583 In general the wife is purchased, but as the bride-price (*kalym*) is usually paid in instalments there exists a special *rite de passage* between the arrangement of the marriage and the final wedding ceremony. After the first part of the bride-price is paid, the bridegroom and his companions, bringing rich presents to the bride's family and to the match-makers, drive to the *aul* (village) of the bride, in the neighbourhood of which he halts. Meanwhile the *djinai* (female match-makers) prepare a special tent, to which they lead the bridegroom, while the bride is carried away from her parents to another tent belonging to some relative. Then a feast is held by the bride's parents, at which neither the bridegroom nor the bride is present. Late at night the *djinai* conduct the bride and bridegroom from their separate tents to the house of the bride's parents. The bride resists ceremonially, while the bridegroom is ceremonially hindered from reaching the house by the *djinai*, one of whom pretends to be a fierce dog, another a wild cow, and so on.

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Early in the morning the bridegroom goes away, and for the whole day he must avoid his parents-in-law. This goes on for about a fortnight, after which the

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bridegroom leaves the *aul*. Some time after, when the whole *kaly*m is paid, he returns to fetch his wife, who again pretends to defend herself, and to be loath to leave her parents' *aul*. There is a show of taking her away by force. The first stage of the marriage, when the bridegroom lives in the house of the bride's parents, in regard to whom he must observe the custom of avoidance, cannot be dispensed with even if the whole *kaly*m is paid at once. [606] 585

Among some other Turks, such as the Turkomans and the Kazan 'Tatars', the period during which the bride remains with her people after the first marriage ceremony extends over several months, or even a couple of years.

The Kirghis are strictly exogamous as far as the blood-clan is concerned. Before marriage a young woman is allowed a good deal of freedom with the men of her own clan, but custom forbids her to meet men of other clans.<sup>1</sup> 582

THE SIBERIAN TURKS<sup>2</sup> fall into two groups, one 101 consisting of the nation of the Yakut, the other of a conglomerate of clans and tribes known as the 'Siberian Tatars'; various branches of them are called according

<sup>1</sup> P., 'The Customs of the Kirghis of the Semipalatinsk Territory', *Russian Messenger*, 1878, No. 9, pp. 32-7; A. Levshin, *Description of the Kirghis-Kaisak Hordes and Steppes*, 1832, pp. 100-102; P. E. Makovyetski, *Materials for the Study of the Juridical Customs of the Kirghis*, 1890, pp. 16-19; N. Grodekoff, *The Kirghis and the Kara-Kirghis of the Syr Daria Territory*, pp. 63-5.

<sup>2</sup> To be distinguished from these Siberian Turks, who have been settled in the country since the very beginning of our era, are the 'Tatars' who migrated back from European Russia fairly recently. In 1897 the number of these in Asiatic Russia was 94,000, in 1911 they numbered 124,000. They are partly Nogai of the northern Caucasus, and partly Kazan 'Tatars', and many of them differ from the Russian colonists only in their Mahometan religion.